

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

Thursday, November 21. 1706.

I Come now to enquire into some of the Mysteries of the Union, and this among them is, I confess, past finding out; and this is the terrible Fright some People have taken in our Neighbouring Kingdom, that *England* being superiour in Power, will devour them by the Union both in Church and State — And tho' 'tis plain whence it comes, 'tis surprizing they should ever carry it so far.

Why do the Gentlemen there talk so much of the Security of the Church, and fill one anothers Heads with Fear of the Church, whence must this Fear come? It must come from our dis-affected Party here in *England*: Pray, Gentlemen, how comes it to pass, that in *England* all your Friends are against you, and all your Enemies are for you? *By You*, I mean, *You Objectors*.

All the *High-Churchmen*, all the Enemies of your Improvement, the Enemies of your Trade, and the Enemies of your Church, are Enemies of the Union, they throng you with their Pamphlets and Cant of Securities. Those very Men, who wish your Church and perhaps Nation too at the D—l, are turn'd about, and talk of the Security of the Church, the very *Jure Divino* Men talk of Liberty, the very Instruments of former Tyrannies in *England*, talk of preserving the Laws, Parliaments and Judicatures of *Scotland*.

His Grace the High Commissioner has acquainted the *Scots*, that he is impower'd to pass Laws for the farther securing this Matter; in order, as I suppose, to make them easie, and remove the Scruples and Fears of those really concern'd in the Church.

Now

Now in laying hold of Her Majesty's Offer, by his Grace the High Commissioner there, and the like here in *England*, there seems to me, to be one ready Step to make both sides easie, and to remove the Jealousies on either hand, as to the Danger of the Church, whether *Episcopal* or *Presbyterian*; and that the Matter is very short, *viz.* That an Act of Parliament be made in the respective Kingdoms, containing a Claim of Church Rights, a Declaration of the State of either Church, and proper Provisions, Articles and Limitations between them, declaring their Power and Extent. Which Acts being first pass'd in either Kingdom, be afterwards incorporated into, and made Part of the Treaty, as an essential Condition of the laid Union; and this, no doubt, will be granted.

To say this may be cels'd, annul'd or afterwards made void, seems individious, and is to my Apprehension talking nothing at all, for no subsequent Parliament can make null any Article of the Treaty. — It would be no Treaty, if this could be. The Treaty is the Foundation and constituent Head of the Parliament of *Britain*, and gives it a Being, and therefore is so far superior to its Power, as not to be destroy'd by its own Substitute; and as I have said elsewhere to break the Treaty, is to dissolve the Constitution, and very Being of the Parliament, and overthrow the Union, and to think *England* will contribute to breaking the Treaty, is too hard a Suggestion, and what I care not to enter upon the Description of here.

How preposterous it is to judge, that a Parliament should hereafter annul and abolish, in Prejudice of a whole Kingdom, what before the very Being of that Parliament was declar'd to be their Right, and assented to, granted, and capitulated for on both sides.

But then, says an Objector, we in *Scotland* cannot help our selves, if we are pref'd, after the Treaty; to take up Arms will be Treason, Rebellion, &c. and we shall be treated as perjur'd Rebels.

I answer, it will be Treason and Rebellion in the Letter of the thing, but not in the Meaning of the Law; so the taking Arms

to joyn the Prince of *Orange* was Treason, and had King *James* defeated the Prince, and frustrated the Revolution, the Gentlemen at *Nottingham* would soon have found themselves treated as Rebels, and the Consequence would have been bloody enough.

But here would be no other Ground for it than was there, and should ever such an Infraction of the Treaty happen, I make no Scruple to say, the whole Constitution would be dissolv'd, Authority die, and things would as before, revolve either to their divided State, or into all Kinds of Confusions.

'Tis unkind, I confess, to offer such things of a Body of Gentlemen chosen out of the whole Island, and 'twould be endless to give them Answers; 'Tis impossible there can be Men enough found in a Parliament to cloe with so open a Breach of the very Constitution, upon which they themselves stood. Nor is *Scotland* so inconsiderable a Nation, that *England* should offer so foully to break with them, and with so little Reason; since in the Case proposed, there can be no Pretence to use them so hardly, but what must be meerly Tyrannical and an Original Violence, in which they could expect no Aid from Heaven or honest Men: 'Tis a Prospect so horrid, that I cannot look upon it without Concern. No Party-Heats can run to such a Length; not the Parliament in King *C*—es it's Time, who' loaded with Pensions and Places, could not be brought to part with any Branch of the *English* Constitution, neither can they here; for it will be all one whole Settlement, and a Dissolution on one side dissolves the other of Course.

I think, *Scotland* can have no Security like this Treaty, it is back'd with the Constitution, 'tis fortified with capitulated Reason, and whenever the Flood of Parties attacks it, 'twill run back, and drown its Contrivers.

I would censure no body in their proposing higher Demands than are reasonable, and such as in their Nature must embarrass the Treaty, alarm *England*, and destroy the Hopes of an Union; but this I must say, 'tis just what they are for, who wish the Treaty broke off, and 'tis strange, Friends and Enemies should both hit on the same thing,

thing, and both propose for such vastly different Reasons, the same Conditions ; 'tis to me a too visible Discovery of the Weakness on one hand, and the Policy on the other, and that's all I shall say to it.

I would be glad the Gentlemen who in *Scotland* argue so warmly against the Union, would reflect ; who in both Kingdoms are for it, and who against it. Why all the *Jacobites*, *Non-jurors*, the *High-Flying Gentlemen* on every hand are against the Union, and the Men of Peace, the Men of Prin-

ciple, and the Men of Estates are generally for it.

Let them examine some Addresses in our Neighbouring Kingdom against the Union, and let them see, whether there is not all the Pretence of the Church and publick Good, all the Cant, if I may call it so, of Reformation, Religion and the Covenant ; and when it comes to be search'd, when the Names come to be examin'd, the Subscribers found to be *Jacobites*, *Non jurors* ; and *Episcopal* Martyrs, but this I leave to farther Observations.

MISCELLANEA.

I Cannot but think the Treatment, the Author of this Paper meets with while absent from *London*, rather favours of more Severity, than other People in like Cases meet with.

Methinks there is something barbarous in it, to suffer a mercenary Villain to carry a Volume of the *Reviews* to a Man in Prison for publick Misdeemeanour, and to bid him revise them, and see, if he can pick any thing in them against the Government, that he may by that, merit some Favour to himself.

'Tis hard to be prosecuted, when other Cruelties keep me absent for a thing only mis-apply'd, and which if I were present to explain, I am perswaded, the Person offended has too much Justice in him not to accept my Explanation —

But after all I am perswaded, I shall obtain Justice, and I fear not the Malice of Men of Party.

I wrote in a late Paper, a Declaration against that hard Suggestion, that I reflected on an eminent and worthy Person ; I hope it will be satisfactory, I again declare, the Words, I am accus'd for, had not the least Aspect towards him, they were never design'd to mean Him, or that by them others should understand his Lordship — And if his Lordship pleases to remit the further Prosecution of that Affair, till my other private Mischiefs will permit me to appear

in *England* ; I give his Lordship this Assurance, that I will not only surrender myself to his Justice — But, which I am not by Law oblig'd to do, acquaint his Lordship, who I did mean ; with the Circumstances, Time and Place.

If this shall not be allow'd, but Advantages taken of my Absence, I must say 'tis very hard ; and I am perswaded, that if his Lordship be acquainted of the Cruelties and barbarous Persecutions, which in Personal Affairs keep me from *England*, 'twould move him to think it below his Resentment to fall upon a Man, too far crush'd by Personal Injury ; and that only absents from such Peoples Rage, as have no Design but the Destruction of the Person, and gratifying a Party.

If in any thing I have offended his Lordship, I have that Veneration for his Character and his Person, that I shall think no Acknowledgment below me to make for Lordship's and the Worlds Satisfaction ; but as I am wholly a Stranger, so much as to a Thought of it, and am perfectly amaz'd to find, what in it can seem to point at his Lordship, I confess it puts me to work to search out, what other Design can be in this Matter, which neither his Lordship nor I know of, and which however I doubt not, Time will discover.

I can say no more to this Affair, nor had I said this, but in Respect to other People more

mors than my self — Whose Persecution, if pursued in this Matter, can be no other Damage, than as I am not present to bear them harmles; and for these I confess my self concern'd.

As to the Subject I am upon, I mean the Union with *Scotland*, I pursue it with, I hope, such Measures only as are suitable to the Nature of the thing, and proper to the Circumstance — It is my Opinion, and founded upon good Grounds, that 'tis a publick Good to both the Nations. In my Opinion, I pursue the Foundation of Her Majesty's frequent Speeches on that Occasion to the Treaters here, and in Her Royal Letter there—I keep close to the Text, the Safety and Happiness of both Kingdoms, and to the removing Prejudices against it — I shall be sorry to offend in the Prosecution of it — And if my Zeal for the thing should have mov'd me to catch hold too soon, of what I thought opposed, I think, I might merit the easier Excuse, in that I am pursuing what is really the general Good of the whole Island, and what so many maliciously, and yet with Impunity, notwithstanding Her Majesty's Order in the *Gazette*, every Day print against, and on all Occasions oppole.

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